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Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

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721 the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

727 The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its
782 owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to
[825] the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

721 Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

721 The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive
● 182 aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

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within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world. 721 182

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a re-examination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 701 182

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 182

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 182

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 621 182 578

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621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
●182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the
578 women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[571] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

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Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically, for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

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CONCLUSION

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Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusion on the functions of Tupinamba warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1955:48) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of abreaction. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their bellicosity was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (ibid:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . *Ventilsitten*, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilsitten would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumaí Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57–59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

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Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Puebloans. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

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The repression of open conflict among the Puebloans accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with intervillage matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

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[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

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portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururú River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

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third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger vi'lage units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.

[7] Steward, 1951.

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182 771 178 religious complex of the sacred musical instruments is extant only in five villages. The beliefs connected with all these rituals remain, but, lacking expression in action, are no longer effectively transmitted to the young.

On the other hand, those aspects of religion that are keyed to the persistent problems of Mundurucú society show great tenacity. Sorcery beliefs may be currently disruptive of tribal and village integration, but they maintain a vital social function in terms of the needs of a society undergoing fractionation and individualization. These are beliefs that explain human malice and suffering and offer techniques for defense against them. They are not closely linked to and dependent upon the peculiarities of native Mundurucú culture, or of any particular lowland South American culture, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that shamanism and sorcery remain active among the peasants of the impoverished Amazon and can be found among the lower classes of its cities. The maintenance of specifically defensive functions of native religion is not peculiar to South America. We need only look to the United States, where the Sun Dance and the peyote cult have become primarily curing rites. These are flourishing parts of radically changed cultures and expressions of altered social systems and cannot be looked upon as lag phenomena. If there is a functional relation between religion and society, it must also exist in historical depth.

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1

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region.

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by

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182 648 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the situation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

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123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

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probe beneath the surface appearances. The Munduruci were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Munduruci children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature: that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Munduruci below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Munduruci society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists.

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Munduruci. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Munduruci society and culture for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction.

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun-

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Mundurucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it, and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

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incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Munduruca social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

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as most of the population. These small one- or two-family groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the social units are too small for the effective transmission of the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater population density, and, therefore, more intensive interaction with other Munduruců, make for better preservation of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Munduruců society and culture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers originally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Munduruců of the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply affected and altered by Brazilian society. But change has been the least among this population. A greater degree of political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the native social system persists, although it has been subjected to modifications. Society and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it is still more distinctively Munduruců than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto do Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rugged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between the streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

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tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 249.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

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1869, 100; 1895, 50.[14] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Munduruc\u00fa or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Munduruc\u00fa of the Tapaj\u00f3s, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[15]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Tapaj\u00f3s-Arinos and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Munduruc\u00fa village consisting of two parallel rows of houses with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[16] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[17] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Munduruc\u00fa tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Munduruc\u00fa "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[18] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of guaraná, sarsaparilla, and copaiba oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundury River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed ones

[14] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[15] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[16] Agassiz, 1868, p. 308.
[17] Ibid., p. 312.
[18] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

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of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."* Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Munduruc[illegible] of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Munduruc[illegible] has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Munduruc[illegible] and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Munduruc[illegible]. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Munduruc[illegible], and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Munduruc[illegible] are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Munduruc[illegible] in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Munduruc[illegible] merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their hinterland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 425.

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ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós.

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[15] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundurý River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundurý River killed almost all participants.

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to

[15] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

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175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. [439] Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

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Second, warfare, for both mercenary
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[36] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[36] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

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562 578 571 [184] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

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said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

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to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

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structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were either human or had human form in mythological times, and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

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Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

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women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days, nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion. Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." [8] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

[8] Durkheim, 1947.

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mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

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monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

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182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to 628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a 796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be 648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

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the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

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Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

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especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Munduruci of the area have elected it. But the 300 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Munduruci. It is a *changed culture*, a *changed social* structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Munduruci past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Munduruci technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

The keynote of this organization lies in cooperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on cooperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations, and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their *rubber avenue*, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that held them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

*Kluckhohn, 1944.

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Munduruc\u00fa for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi- [144] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens [241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 144 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic cooperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Munduruc\u00fa who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.

182 476 624 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

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canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Munduruců is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sao Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Carvçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will probably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the local communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Munduruců who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

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and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farina-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe.

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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

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crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campinciro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[478] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

439 Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
461 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In contrast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

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622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [751] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

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159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kinbonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a [574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

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moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively [594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

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tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

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8

the changing social system

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This study has analyzed how Mundurucú society operates to wrest a livelihood from its environment and the connected problem of personal and group relationships. In its focus on Mundurucú social structure and the processes by which this system becomes realized in action to form a coherent way of life, it has been a functional study. But unlike most functional studies, it has been plotted on the coördinate of social time in addition to that of social space. The Mundurucú social system has undergone major transformations, and it is impossible to understand fully what it *is* until some understanding is achieved of what it *was*, at least in its key institutions. And it is further necessary to consider the dynamics of the change, because the processes are still continuing. The student who would consider his data only from the point of view of the contribution of

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the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise.

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself. Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in

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amount, and the native social structure was directly affected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was *profoundly* influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into history the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

clan, gluvity, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[4] He presents as illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions, but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206-213.

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structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village, and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the role of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of inter-village marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the man to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a prominent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

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182 591 611 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

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The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

182 794

[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals.

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Munduruú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Munduruú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Munduruú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the

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weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Munduruca still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggression generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Munduruca males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Munduruca

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made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Munduruc; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Munduruc social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Munduruc acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Munduruc meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Munduruc were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the gradual pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Munduruc were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Munduruc social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

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THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 182 648 439 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Munduruc society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demandhis period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the cooperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Munduruc to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the lower framework of Amazonian society.

The Munduruc are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Munduruc society can

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be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Munduruc with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Munduruc; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Munduruc society has been most deeply changed and the populace becomes dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Munduruc wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Munduruc as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the aldeas in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study. For it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns their aldeas are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of large village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on adaptive factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That the factors have a broader relevance can be best

*Ibid., p. 211-212.

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determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[1] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[2] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extractive economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence, and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into local aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transformed to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of [illegible] usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

[1] Eggan, 1954.
[2] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

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114 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Munduruká agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*24] [92] The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Munduruká subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 uncultivated plants utilized in Munduruca economy." (6)

6. Steward, 1948: 272.

*24] 12] [71] And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Munduruká system does not differ essentially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /7/ Practical experience in the native methods of their agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Munduruká Indians as a cul- is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well- being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, [12] agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

/5 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[104] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, rum, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[345] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Wherever possible, the Munduruká prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranaita. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[341] the Cururú and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Munduruká
[12] no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Munduruká family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 growth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
442 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Munduruku, as well,
[46] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following panorama:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

/25 cont./

garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the tundurukú family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, it needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance in the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to its ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For me, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and our communities have been dissolved. The families break free. They are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. Anjuy as each family lives alone, thus too each man or each family-father has his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. Showing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are used to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent our assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

As an essential conclusion, there rests from this that among [illegible] aspects of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the [illegible] system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very [illegible] have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the [illegible] environment.

There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and sons or of several brothers)

/29 cont./

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there result: the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

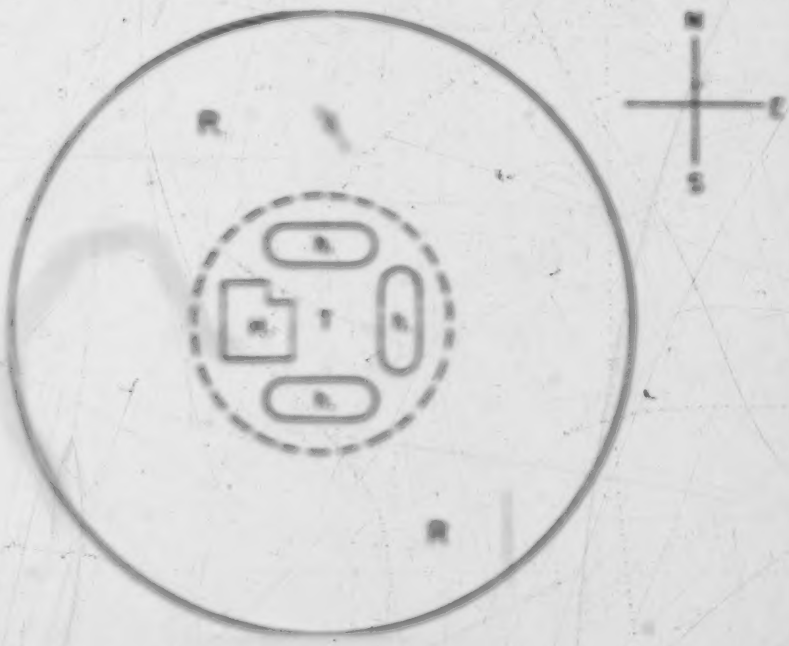

Figure 3. Plan of a Munduruki village
T: plaza; H: hakuy; h: hok-ay; R: Garden plots.

/29 cont./

to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in war, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Munduruki, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupi of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1837: 301.

and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Munduruki. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason--agriculture--which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /ibid./.

/30/

29. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants

1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Here the following, however: